

Z I O N I S M

Why and Wherefore

By Jacob de Haas

Secretary Federation of
American Zionists

Publications of the American Federation

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PREFATORY NOTE.

In the month of November, 1902, the Rev. Dr. J. Silverman delivered two lectures on Zionism, criticising the movement from his point of view. The lectures, being delivered from the pulpit of Temple Emanu-El, could not be answered from the same place; but, at the request of the Federation of American Zionists, the Trustees of the Temple, with their accustomed fairness and liberality, placed the vestry rooms at the disposal of the Federation. A meeting was held there on December 18, 1902, at which a lecture was delivered by Mr. J. de Haas, the Secretary of the Federation. By order of the Council of the Federation this lecture is herewith printed, in order that a still wider public may have a chance to form an opinion on the questions involved in the discussion.

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ZIONISM: WHY AND WHEREFORE

MR. CHAIRMAN, REVEREND SIRS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I feel highly honored by the distinction which has been conferred on me of being the first Zionist to address an audience within the walls of Temple Emanu-El, a congregation whose fame is not only pre-eminent in New York, but the repute of which has spread to that country from which I come, not only as what we would term the "Cathedral Synagogue" of this great city, with its vast Jewish community, but as a congregation which has identified itself particularly with all the affairs of the Jewish people, and with which we Jews of England are peculiarly related in that, as I think you will readily admit, it has grown to its splendor and strength through the fostering zeal of your Rabbi Emeritus, Dr. Gustave Gottheil, whose earlier manhood was identified with one of the strongest and most puissant congregations in provincial England.

The immediate cause of my presence here this evening is the result of a series of events too fresh in the public mind to need any expounding. Allow me to say that it is far from my intention to-night merely to single out the observations of your Rabbi or any Rabbi—and a host of Rabbinical utterances have been made recently, largely, I believe, as a consequence of the advance of the Zionist movement. I am not here to indulge in tit for tat, but to justify the knowledge and the faith that is in me; to expound what we Zionists believe, and to meet question with answer, argument with argument, as may spring up subsequent to my address. I am conscious that I must claim your attention for some time, but I will avoid what Sydney Smith once termed all "verbal circumgyrations," for I am by no means, as Disraeli said of Gladstone, "inebriated with the exuberance of my own verbosity." What I have to offer you is the plain reasoning of a plain man on the why and the wherefore of the Zionist movement.

Let me state for the purposes of all discussion that may follow what are the immediate aims of Zionism. It is to use every legitimate means,

of agitation, financing, education and diplomacy—"to establish a legally assured, publicly secured home for the Jews in Palestine."

I will now endeavor to explain those causes that led to the formulation of that doctrine at the first Zionist Congress held in August, 1897, in Basle. The Jew who habitually answers every question with a question—why should he not?—is no longer in doubt as to the existence of the Jewish Question. It glares at us through the Hay note to the Powers, it confronts us through the British Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, it obsessed us through the Dreyfus affair. To the world the Jew is still the algebraic x of politics and social life; we ourselves know we exist. The unknown x of the newspaper paragraph, the subject of a new Russian law, a Galician riot, or Roumanian oppression takes form, is human, and stands beseechingly at Ellis Island to-day. He lives, is human, and being thus more than the paragraph that makes us shudder, is flung back, when troubled by some internal ailment into that hell from which he has prayed God to let him escape.

Yet we are not all as equally clear as to the contents of that bundle of misery we carry on our backs.

We count at present 10,500,000 human souls, scattered throughout the universe. Of these 3,800,000 are politically emancipated, leaving 6,700,000 unemancipated. Of these emancipated millions I estimated last year 2,701,011 as absolutely free, 1,000,000 being in America, and 1,000,000 in Austro-Hungary, the rest are spread between the great and small Powers of Europe. Yet it would be mockery to assert to-day that this freedom is anywhere perfect. There are actually less than 50,000 Jews in the whole world who are not affected by anti-Semitism in some form, or have the spectre of that horror before them. I do not propose to deal with anti-Semitism in any detail; its incidents have been described by Professor Deutsch in the Jewish Encyclopedia; its history has been written by Lucien Wolf in the Encyclopedia Britannica. I would simply remark in passing that these two articles confirm, as a series of facts confirm, that the tide of anti-Semitism has been and is advancing, and that there is no refuge for us in the pet phrase "progress of civilization." Rather this "unsympathy," as Charles Lamb called it, seems part and parcel of our civilization, as it always was in days when we accepted facts and did not stop to ascertain causes. The heyday of Jewish emancipation was 1870, the whole period of great emancipation on paper, and in human thought, covered less than ten years of that great freedom loving age, the nineteenth century. You are too well aware of that fear with which Dr. Emil G. Hirsch has recently endeavored so strenuously to fill your souls; but note what a keen observer like Dr. Stanton Coit said less than a month since in London:

"No one could doubt there was a Jewish problem there, and that the persecutions of the Jews continued and were stronger than ever. In the West, jealousy of his commercial capacity and fear of his anti-clerical nationalism were often the causes of these persecutions. Perhaps it was thought that there existed no Jew-hatred in America. He considered that in that country one of the meanest and most detestable forms of persecution was practiced in the shape of social ostracism. Dr. Coit then dwelt at some length on the exclusion of Jews from New York clubs, hotels and other institutions, the contemplation of which, he said, had made his soul burn with indignation and shame. The circumstance might seem trifling, but it would prove to be the beginning of much worse. In England, he was glad to say, there was no immediate occasion for alarm. He did not wish to be a prophet of evil, but his knowledge of Judaism and of human nature forced him to believe that if the English people were to guard their island against aliens, just as America did against the Chinese, there would soon be a very grave problem for the Jew to face."

There must be a nudging of heads, a charge of misguided pessimism and the like. It is always so. No one believes the rise of the flooding river is dangerous until the water begins to wet the dining room carpet. Of course if the dam bursts it is otherwise, we hear the roar of the mighty waters; but it is not in the nature of things that a sickness of the mind, a prejudice, shall come upon us with the burst of a cataract. New York is too full of foreigners for the easy display of the theory "'eave a 'arf a brick at him, he's a furriner;" yet some of the bricks were flung this summer at a coffin, because, as Tom Hood wrote of the pauper's funeral:

"Rattle his bones over the stones.
He's only a pauper whom nobody owns."

The emancipation of the Jews in Europe was gained by accident as well as design. The French wanted to be mathematically perfect in their franchise, and Carlyle describes how a Jew, a Mohammedan and a Negro were bundled in together to make the figure correct. In England Justin McCarthy tells humorously how the Jewish member, Salomons, put Parliament into a fix by sitting without a right in a house where he had every right to sit. Yet it is not in mere privileges that we must look for our safeguards. They will never be taken from us again. The mob is not so logical; but real freedom is conditioned by the state of the mind of the people amongst whom we dwell, who separate us from themselves however heroically some of us endeavor to be identified with them. For one thing, and it displays the fallacy of that argument that would spite our faces by cutting off our noses, and calling us a religious com-

munion—the religion that govern the majority agree that we have souls to save, whilst the souls of their followers are saved. That puts us in a position of inferiority, and we who are traders in all things offer not our souls for sale, nor offer to buy others with the promise of salvatory superiority. There is a further illogism which recognises the Jew after he has been dipped in the baptismal font; but neither the world nor the Jew is to blame, for practically no one will believe as the priest refused to believe the converted Jew, in the story, that the goose was fish because it had been indulged in an extra ablution.

It is not in the meagreness of our emancipation, salt of life though it is, that our bundle is full. Bacon, accounting for the causes of sedition, named the whole list of synonyms for discontent. We here are but as one finger in the whole of Jewry, and the nine other digits and limbs are sore with persecution, suffering, misery, squalor, and wretchedness. There is the malarial Pale in Russia, with its huge code of laws which outlaw the Jew and deny him freedom of thought and the breath of life, the bruising hour by hour of what was the prosperous and intelligent community of Roumania; there is the beggary of 300,000 Jews in Galicia, and the beggar's beggary of the remaining 400,000. There is the never ending "Blood Accusation," a degradation put on all of us, which is so deep and great that happily like the speed of the world's revolution we do not feel it. But that is in the backwoods of Europe? It was repeated in Austria, Germany, France, and one fanatic tried to prove the proverbial "something in it" in England. There is, moreover, that boycott of the professional man in Europe which has resulted, as Dr. Herzl has put it, "some became journalists and traded in public opinion," that absurdity of chauvinism that produced the Dreyfus affair and that jealousy which set the Alien Commission in England at work, and that ostracism which is manifest everywhere and affects you here in the East and affects others in the West of the United States. Eighty years ago young Jewry saw the Ghetto doors flung open and stepped out to conquer and therefore imitate the world. Do you wonder if this generation is alarmed when the door is unceremoniously flung to, and some of us have our Jewish characteristic bruised in the contact.

There are many levels in Avernus. These conditions carry a long chain of economic and social misery with them. Zangwill welcomed the opportunity of telling how the Jew had succeeded because he demonstrated that they were a failure. The paradox is true. Behind the moral wretchedness of pin prick persecuting policies is the equally serious economic distress. Nordau, in describing us as "Luft menschen," spoke all too truly. We are all of this or the last generation. We have the weakness of the self-made. We are a non-possessing nation; we own nothing but our wits, and, therefore, they are preternaturally sharpened,

and our precocity gives us an unenviable proportion in the asylums for mental disorders. Persecution has forced the up-breaking of homes, destruction of business, the reordering of life. The desire to avoid the double meaning of Juden elend, suffering and wandering, is real enough. Only the sociologists and the psychologists can tell us what the starting life anew in every third generation has cost us. Who has counted the waifs and strays, the fathers and mothers and children who have perished in the struggle to get here; how many minds have gone awry in their political, social and moral understanding by reason of the fierce fire of experience they have gone through?

The economic lot of the Jew is terrible in its facts and consequences. The Jewish proletariat has been discovered and its condition is ever worsening. A few illustrations must serve our purpose. In Russia families of from six to eight persons are supported on half a dollar a week. This is in Dubrovna, where the weavers work twenty hours a day. An article in the "Revue Blanche" has told the full tale of cities where two families occupy one room nine feet square. In Wilna thousands of Jews live in hovels two flights below the street; the masons of Minsk earn \$1.10 per week and are slack nine months in the year. At Slov 7,000 out of 8,000 Jews are reduced to public charity.

In Berdicheff "in the parts occupied by the poorer classes of Jews the streets are only one and a half fathoms wide, on both sides they are bordered by tumbledown houses, closely adjoining each other. Some of the streets are only one and a half fathoms wide, on both sides they are bordered by tumbledown houses, closely adjoining each other. Some of these dwellings are roofless: others have no windows, whilst some houses have only three walls. In that open street, in the mud, troops of half-naked children are at play, tumbling about among the numerous pigs." The description is of 1869. but it was repeated in 1899. unconsciously. It is no wonder that Professor Mandelstamm, the great Russian oculist, pleading for the physical amelioration of the Jews, described the people of the Pale as "skin, bone and brain." One could go on for hours describing these horrors. The Alliance Israelite Universelle, that movement that no longer moves, reports of Roumania that two-thirds of the 35,000 Jews of Rouschouk were in need of help. "The deaths from starvation may be counted by the dozen," says one writer. In Galicia, which I have already mentioned, Dr. Salz stated in 1897 that, of 145,000 Jews, 74,000 were unemployed, and he actually estimated 100,000 beggars, even from the viewpoint of the Galician standard of life. In Czernowitz families of ten and more people occupy a single cellarage. Dr. Fuehs, for many years resident in Lemberg, described the Galician situation to me in one phrase: "Continuous poverty has so enervated the people that there has grown up amongst them a supreme contempt for religious and

communal quarrels." Persecution means something when it sends 800,000 people across the seas in eighteen years. Will it surprise you if at the end of the tale of physical want and suffering so eloquently described five times over by Max Nordau, you are told that outward pressure and inward hunger have produced cunning, craft, physical and moral demoralization, a trampling of men's bodies and sale of women's souls? Leroy-Beaulieu and all those who have investigated the matter have stated that the corrosion and corruption of want have eaten much less into the Jew than was to be expected. We have Ghettos, but hitherto we have had few gutters—that condition is created here largely because you, thinking it old-fashioned, threw the shtreimil (rabbi's cap) away. These facts show that we are not dealing and have not in mind what was so airily described in your temple as a few hundred thousand people in Russia, Roumania, and Galicia; our figures cover a whole nation.

Some of these facts, something of what persecution and suffering meant, have been understood. Your purses have been open. You have helped more than half a million people to come here; you have built institutions. They did likewise in London, in Berlin, Vienna and Paris. We are not a hard-hearted race. Baron Edmond de Rothschild pottered in Palestine, Baron de Hirsch made aggravating agricultural experiments in Argentina. You have Woodbine, Alliance; there is a settlement in Canada. For twenty years we have tried to "blunder through" like the English army, in South Africa.

If I say that these twenty years have cost fully 25,000,000 dollars in Jewish charity, money spent as a direct result of persecution, I am well within the mark, the figure is probably four times as high. Yet what have we for the Chaluka (Palestinian charity) of the religious; for the I. C. A., with its mills, pumps, and solemn reports; for the Alliance Israelite, with its English and German associate bodies, the London Board of Guardians and your own Hebrew Charities? Let us understand that of all this Jewish misery ninety-nine per cent. is special poverty, the chronic result of persecuting and exceptional legislation, and curable as normal poverty is not. What have we for our sympathy and our open purse strings? —the Alien Commission in England, the warning of Dr. Hirsch, and the request of the United Hebrew Charities of New York to the London community not to send more Jews here. Is not Dr. Herzl right when he says "charity is bankrupt" in face of the Jewish problem?

Anti-Semitism is as old as Abraham, but it has developed a new phase. We can no longer say, "Get thee gone," we are no longer Hebrews, there is no river to cross westward. The Jew who flees here as a political refugee from Roumania can be denied as an immigrant. Not for a moment would I say the law is administered unfairly, but the "law is

an ass"—the immigrant seeks work—the Jew first seeks air to breathe.

There is a limit to the receptivity of every country as far as the Jews are concerned. We have reached the point of indigestion, and the cure is not the removal of a human surplusage of Jews and replacing them elsewhere. This operation will have to be repeated every decade, and I foresee Dr. Hirsch preaching to Chicago ten years from now what he preached in the Educational Alliance. Dr. Herzl has presented the Jewish situation in an excellent simile. You cannot get rid of a pool of blood in a room by mopping it up, if the cause of that pool is a man bleeding to death outside.

Yet there is a cure without removing that man and staunching his wound. It is to fill up the crevice between the door and the floor, to dam the flow of blood, and then conveniently ignore the wounded man. Who is there among you who is both so cruel and cowardly? None! Yet this in plain language is what the advice to stop at home and fight the battle out means. Clothe your language in any flight of oratory, the truth remains. Israel lays wounded and stricken in Russia, Galicia, and Roumania. Tell him to fight there—as though he could fight, as though there were any tangible thing to fight—any weapon that could be wielded—and you are speaking out of the complacency of your own comfort words that burn and sear those very wounds with the smart of the brother betraying. It is from the lips of the modern Rabbi, to us, who wish to rejoice these next fourteen days in the illumination of the Maccabees' triumph, to us whose fathers have borne the heat and burden of European suffering and more ancient inquisition, to us and for us that this counsel is given. Worse than all anti-Semitism, striking all the chords that vibrate our souls is this poltroonery. A Jew shall say it, so many say it so unheedingly. "I'd rather be a dog and bay the moon than such a Jew." When Lucknow held out in the Indian Mutiny it was the shrill bagpipes playing "Hold the Fort, Campbell Comes" that inspired the noble band of defenders. And our Israel is besieged in a thousand forts. How say you? Is our answer fight your fight, and if you fight your way out there is the bread of our charity, the graciousness of our sympathy; or shall we, who sprang from the loins of an unyielding, eternally defiant race, send our message of Hatikvah (hope) across the world and tell them that we mingle to-day the salt of our tears with the bitterness of their afflictions, and what in freedom we can do shall be done to save and rescue?

We have arrived at this point, that the impelling force of Zionism has compelled a world-wide acknowledgment that the whole mass of the Jewish people is suffering, and that even those not actually persecuted are affected by the general mass of misery. We know that it is not in our

hearts to tell the defenseless people to fight their own fight; we know that they will not stop where they are, that they desire and must attain to some solution of their difficulties. We must be impressed, too, by what Miss Josephine Lazarus wrote in 1895, that it was a question whether in doing what we have done heretofore we have done right. In her own words: "But in providing a home for his hapless comrade, in crowding him into the overcrowded ranks of the toiling masses, and initiating him into the fierce struggle of modern selfishness, has he (the wealthier Jew) done his duty? Or even in holding out the hand of religious fellowship and helping him to the full and free exercise of the memorial customs and traditions of his race, is the free, untrammeled Israelite doing the best and highest that his advantages and opportunities can suggest for this belated newcomer, who emerges, as it were, out of the Middle Ages into the bright light of a new day, and the broad rushing stream of Western ideas?"

Spencer has aptly summed up the common attitude on all pressing issues in his study of sociology. "Is there distress somewhere? They suppose nothing more is required than to subscribe money for relieving it. On the other hand, they never trace the reactive effects which charitable donations work on banking accounts, on the surplus capital bankers have to lend, on the productive activity which the capital now abstracted would have set up, on the number of laborers who would have received wages and who now go without wages? They do not perceive that certain necessaries of life have been withheld from one man who would have exchanged useful work for it and given to another who perhaps persistently evades work; nor, on the other hand, do they look beyond the immediate mitigation of misery. They deliberately shut their eyes to the fact that as fast as they increase the provision for those who live without labor, and that with an ever-increasing distribution of alms there comes an ever-increasing outcry for more alms. Similarly, throughout all their political thinking, approximate causes and approximate results are alone contemplated."

Is this not in general terms true of what we have done heretofore towards the solution of the Jewish problem? Nor does the problem stand alone with its political and economic difficulties. I have already suggested the moral degradation that it is carrying with it: the Jew, unsheltered by the Ghetto, is being storm-beaten, and the Jewish race must pay the penalty for its variant degrees of emancipation by seeking the destruction of Judaism in order to make its emancipation equal to what it asks of the world. You have in this respect approached a nihilism, the consequences of which you fear, and you have called to your side men able to preach the reaction in faith and observance. Are these

not facts eloquent of that great waste which the last half century of Jewish life has engendered. Yet I would point one more fact: at this moment we Jews are the only Christians. We have not only turned the other cheek to the smiter, but we have repaid blows by love and persecution by loyalty. Such hates as we possess are of a crossing kind. We hate Roumania and Russia, but neither the Roumanian nor the Russian Jews hate their fatherland. Yet there must come a time when the very grinding of the Jewish bones must engender a world-wide hate, even as the hate of us spreads world-wide. So, then, we will be no more Israel, but Ishmael; not only every man's hand against us, but our hand against every man. The full consequences of such a condition I need not describe, but it must be apparent to all of you that such a consequence is philosophically probable, and that we should endeavor to avoid its coming about.

To end this terrible situation there have been discovered two lines of reasoning, two theories. The Jews, like the brothers in Richter's stories, "have seized their bleeding hearts and flung them different ways." Recognizing in both instances that the solution must be adequate to the case; that is, that you must have a remedy as great as this misery and not a plaster for incidental wounds, there have been discovered, on one hand, assimilation, on the other. Zionism. On this assimilation Dr. Stanton Coit has said:

"Many persons had recently suggested, as a solution of the Jewish problem, that Jews should give up the idea of their being a race, that they should intermarry and lose themselves in other nations. It was the same as an Englishman saying that because the English were hated by other jealous nations, they should give up being Englishmen. He considered that to be no solution of the problem and a disgraceful suggestion."

Ass-imilation it is, an assinine bargain whereby we would sell our birthright for a mess of thistles. The theory is that to end Jewish misery we shall end the Jew, and in practice it halts always before the final step. We are assimilating to-day, but it is assimilation in which we borrow and digest; the assimilation which shall end Jewish misery is one in which we must be assimilated. The very process demands that sense of equality which, if it existed, would render the very process unnecessary. This theory of self-destruction seems to me a cowardly avoidance of the obligations of our traditions. But it has proved its own impracticability. It is not a question of how little the modern temple resembles the synagogue, but how little the Jew is moved by Jewish consciousness, how far the stock of Jewish blood has mingled with that of non-Jewish blood. Assimilation on our side means mixed marriages, wholesale mixed marriages. And when the Austrian Government a few

years ago passed a law legalizing such marriages, it was noticed that the first marriage solemnized under the new law was that of a converted Jew who had married a Jewess.

Presupposing that you can still mix nations and races as you breed cattle, it is evident that the consequences of your act would be to create a human cross-breed possessing in all probability all the weaknesses of the Jew and none of his sustaining powers. But one man in our generation has been sufficiently logical and sufficiently honest to prove that he means this mission via assimilation. Mr. Oswald John Simon started two years ago a Jewish church in London, and threw into a ritual what he thought was essential to Judaism, and yet universal, so that the Christian world might accept the mission. But the Jews killed the scheme by ridicule, and the Christians found Unitarianism much simpler and far more to their liking. Incidentally it was suggested, and with good reason, that the actual preaching of this mission betrayed a tone of superiority on the part of its Jewish exponents which was not exactly to the liking of the great Christian faiths who assert just that tone of superiority over against Judaism. Assimilation is, after all, a theory and very little of a fact. We in the mass do not desire it: better to live and suffer as a Jew, conscious that we are still what Heine called "the Swiss guards of Heaven," than to offend our history by shaking off the mantle of our traditions.

Moreover, assimilation is a contributory cause of anti-Semitism; it is this infiltration and self-denying, which already was marked in 1839 in France, that has produced the charge of "Juiverie" in France to-day. Drumont, Rohefort, Ahlwardt and Stoecker black-list the children of mixed marriages as non-Jewish, Jews even more dangerous to France and Germany than the merely Jewish Jew. And let us understand clearly what the Jewish mission via assimilation means. It means that some day someone will write an epitaph: "To the memory of a race whose greatest achievement was the ending of its existence." After all, we do not believe in that ironic idea that our two thousand years' pursuit of destiny shall write itself out in the trite saying, "Nothing in life so well became him as his manner of leaving it." Assimilation, I insist, means this or it means nothing.

I now come to the oft-abused and much misunderstood Zionistic theory. I have stated what we are driving at. How do we come to it? It is the Jewish ideal of the Jewish future. Renan says in his "Life of Christ": "Never did man seize a problem of the future of his destiny with a more desperate courage, a greater determination to realize his possibilities to the utmost; implicating the fate of mankind with that of his own little race. Jewish thinkers were the first to seek for a general

theory of the progress of our species. . . . The Jews . . . thanks to a kind of prophetic sense which renders the Semite at times marvelously fitted to behold the great lines of the future, has made history enter into religion."

We are as a boomerang flung out by the hand of history, and despite our gyrations, the aim being true, we come back whence we started. The salt tears wept at the destruction of Jerusalem 1832 years ago burnt into the blood and marrow of the Jewish people. It was not a community of religionists, but a nation that had lost its independence, that went into exile, a nation that less than two generations after made a desperate attempt to regain its possessions, a nation whose national consciousness was so imbrued into its blood that it has produced from that day to this a long line of pseudo-Messiahs. Each age has interpreted the desire for restoration in accordance with its power to effect it; prayer and liturgy have rung and rung with a hope so unquenchable that a thousand failures could not destroy it. The Jew felt always, whether in Rome or Spain or Alexandria, that he belonged to a nation; he never quitted that idea. The man who tells us the Jewish nation ceased with the dispersion has never read Jewish history, has never read the great Jewish poets who poured out all their great emotion in love for Zion. This conscious nation struggled under Bar Coehba and maintained the Princes of its Captivity for seven full centuries after the Diaspora, expressing thus continually its belief in its national existence, its desire for national restoration. The Talmudic rabbis tell the Cohanim (priests) not to drink of wine, for the hour of the Redemption may always be at hand, and they must always be ready to perform their services. The imminence of national restoration never deserted the Jewish brain. The Jewish mother in the Russian slum croons to-day to her little child the lullaby that sings out in verse Heine's "Judaism is a misfortune," but she rocks the child to sleep with a promise of a greater destiny.

No one to the end of the eighteenth century doubted that this Israel is a nation; the People of the Book are spoken of in no other terms. The new idea of a petty community, with all its sectary possibilities, sprang up with Mendelssohn, of whom Graetz wrote, "there was but one feeling wanting in Mendelssohn, and this deficiency was very detrimental to the near future of Judaism. He lacked an appreciation for history." Graetz designates us a nation; the Queen of England, penning that patent which recognized the great work Moses Montefiore had done in Damascus, incidentally describes him as a member of the Jewish nation; the Sephardic synagogue, which still adheres to so many of our traditions, on the 9th of Ab ends its evening service with counting the tale of the years that Israel is in exile. And were this the occasion on

which I would have to deal merely with this issue. I could pile fact upon fact, record upon record, proving conclusively that none except those who repeated the trick of the French rabbis, who said, "France est notre Zion," to Napoleon, in 1806, do deny this historical heritage of our race. It is because there is no Judaism without nationalism, because Zion, from which the law went forth, is a geographical spot, crowned with historical landmarks, that Dr. Herzl had to say in 1897: "Zionism is a return to Judaism even before it is a return to the land of Israel."

True, our nationalism does not answer to all the dictionary qualifications, yet as Mordecai says in Eliot's "Daniel Deronda," "who shall say 'the fountain of their life is dried up? They shall ever cease to be a nation?' Who shall say it? Not he who feels the life of his people stirring within his own." We are beclouded by those national political conditions which have created and necessitated naturalizations which give us political nationhood. But the mist clears quickly enough before the breeze of common sense. Chaim Mendel of Hester street and the Rabbi of the Sinai Congregation of Chicago (I take a typical, not a personal, case; nothing personal is intended) are wide apart in religious conceptions. It is doubtful even whether their conceptions of the monotheistic theory of the Divinity agree, though they are both monotheists. Yet who will deny that either the peddler or the rabbi is a Jew? And in the last resort, it is this rabbi who will defend Chaim Mendel, and it is Chaim Mendel who will suffer for any blows that are struck at the rich members of the Sinai Congregation. Goldfaden, in a wonderful poem, following the riots in 1831, made the poor Jew apostrophize the stone which, flung by the moujik at the rich Jew's house, struck the poor Jew's window. Do we rise up and call Jeshurun, "who was waxed fat," accursed, or do we accept the stone fate flings at us? There is no question as to the answer. We accept it. And the cause that leads to its acceptance is that blood bond of nationhood that unites us and creates a common brotherhood between us throughout the world. To what straits would we have to descend? What heresy-hunting there would be if we lowered ourselves to that mere condition of sect, which, as Mr. Claude G. Montefiore has said, in an academic discussion on "Nation or Community," even Philo of Alexandria would not have understood. The nation as a nation has struggled to maintain, in the words of the prayer book, "One God, one people," and the denial of its nationalism is a charge of hypocrisy against all the generations that have gone before us and against the vast mass who are suffering to-day in Europe. For it is for that they still wish to live, for that great national life which they have always fostered

through prose and poetry, in actual life and in theory, and which in its mystical sense has interpreted itself in the wish expressed by every good Jewish father to his chaste daughter, "May thou be worthy of being the mother of the Messiah." In this great sentiment, the hope which Disraeli once expressed in a single phrase, "One hour, one day, one man, and we might become a nation," in this feeling of nationalism we have a power as potent as anti-Semitism itself, because it is as great as the whole of the Jewish race. Rouse but this consciousness in the Jew and you have a force which, if there were even no need for it, might still reintegrate the Jewish people and do for Israel what the preachings of Mazzini and the efforts of Cavour did to create a United Italy. We apply it to a necessity and have at once a lever which can move towards an independent effort a mass which otherwise could not be helped and sustained by charity. If this national idea did not exist, it would have had to be created in order to save the Jewish people. But it is there, and its modern history is over twenty years old, and older. It has created a new literature, a new poetry, it is striving after a new art, it is deliberately enforcing a new culture, it has prompted out of the hearts and minds of those who have been furthest from the common life of the Jewish people a Jewish renaissance which, if it will fulfill its promise, will do for Jewish science, literature, art, and culture even more than the Italian renaissance did for modern arts and sciences.

It is easy to talk of "deluded enthusiasts"; there is no delusion about the colony of Rishon le Zion, which celebrated its twentieth birthday a few weeks ago. That was something more than enthusiasm which set the college students of Russia to clear the land with their hands in the first pioneering work of Jewish resettlement.

At any rate, these men and all those who have since gone to Palestine are not to be counted amongst those who want the Palestinian ambassadorship to Paris or Washington, a joke that goes back to 1830.

The will force of the Jewish people has been far stronger than any Utopian schemes. Dr. Herzl repeated in 1896 what Pinsker attempted in 1882; he saw that the need was emancipation out of the present habitation of the Jewish people; the Jews would accept only one "over there," the "over there" of Palestine, because the return to the soil is part and parcel of their national yearning which, in the Talmudic parable, was born on the day of the destruction of Jerusalem. The Jews feel that they are suffering, that they are everywhere in the minority, that they are a non-possessing nation; what they desire is that on one patch of earth they shall be the majority, that they shall possess it, that they shall be free to live a Jewish life; and they know that this will disen-

tangle them from the network of universal contempt, if not of hatred, for it will raise them as a people to the status of a nation among nations.

Our nationalism is not aggressive. On the contrary, it is to Zion we cling because from Zion went forth the ideal; it is through Zion, too, that we believe that our rebirth will be completed. A beautiful dream is it, if you will it so, but no "nightmare," this desire of an old people to be reborn on its ancient soil, of erecting where once the Temple stood, a white marble temple whence shall issue the white-robed priesthood of Jewish idealism and Jewish spirituality.

Some men, reviewing the Jewish position, count up a list of glorious names, names which rang throughout the world, and state what these men accomplished and have given to the world; but they have not worked with or for Israel. What the mud-bespattered Jew of Russia and the starving Jew of Galicia is dreaming of to-day is something that you cannot sneer down with talk of a petty little country no bigger than Bulgaria. This Jew knows that we in this present are living on the traditions of the past, and he wishes to justify this inglorious present by reaching out a hand to a still more glorious futurity. The destiny that he would fulfill by means of his national ideal is to create of himself a model nation, governed by a model code, living an exemplary life, in accordance with the best that he knows, the best and noblest that he has witnessed in the achievements of the present.

Ten years ago one might still have called this a phantasy, but when five years ago "the scattered and dried bones" were brought together, and there was breathed into them the hope of better times, the Jews meeting in congress proved that they had all the qualities of nationhood and all the power of self-government. They prove it, too, now, for they have given and are giving an obedience to the decisions of our congresses, which are merely moral obligations, paying cheerfully a tax which is merely voluntary. They are building up a national credit which none of them can own, and to all these facts could be added a thousand-fold from the intricacies of Zionist life to demonstrate that the "Old-newland" can and will fulfill in some measure the visions of our prophets.

How, then, can this "cure of the Jewish trouble be worse than the disease?" Nay, could we imagine anything worse than that condition in which one-half the nation is begging the Jewish Colonization Association to help it, and that Association, whilst doling out subsidies to prayer shawl factories, is begging the peoples and governments of Europe not to bring the whip too severely down upon the half-bent back of the Jew. I have likened our people to a boomerang. See what Renan says: "Nineteen centuries ago a mighty dream united the Jewish people, for centuries constantly renewing its youth in its decrepitude. Foreign to

the theory of individual recompense, which the Greeks advanced under the name of the immortality of the soul, Judea concentrated on her future as a nation all her power of love and longing. She believed that she possessed fine promises of a boundless future, and as the bitter reality, from the ninth century, before our era gave the dominion of the world more and more to strength and brutality, crushed these aspirations, she took her stand in the union of the most impossible ideas and attempted the most extraordinary gyrations. . . . But in the epoch of captivity a poet full of harmony beheld the splendor of the future of Jerusalem, to which all the peoples and the distant isles should bow down." The boomerang was well shot; after twenty centuries, clothed in modern garb, we come back to that point of hope and yearning which led the legend to place in the mouth of Rachel, the mother of our race, when from her grave she beheld Israel fleeing from Zion, the simple words, "Come ye back, my children!"

Well, it may be urged, this is sentiment. Those who are not Zionists preach patience when they do not preach assimilation. To those I would answer in the words of Mazzini: "They who preach patience to the peoples as the sole remedy for the ills by which they are oppressed, or who, while they admit the necessity of contests, would yet leave the initiative to be begun by their rulers, do not, to my thinking, understand the state of things that is coming about." I agree, furthermore, with him when, in his address to his Italian compatriots, he said: "There is scarcely a single people unable, by dint of faith, sacrifice and revolutionary logic, to burst their chains in the face of the monarchies of Europe united against them—not a single one who, in the holiness of an idea, and in the strength of a word inscribed upon their banner, who might not imitate a crusade."

At this point comes the oft-made charge, never yet made by a Christian, but sufficiently repeated by Jews, "Zionism is unpatriotic, Zionism is cowardly." This charge of want of patriotism is sheer wantonness of spirit. In the first place, all our patriotisms are dual and triple and quadruple; we have as many loyal attachments as we have sides to our lives. Patriotism begins with imperial attachment to the flag; there is civilian attachment to the city, a regard for the district in which we live, and last, even pride in the institutions to which we belong. These emotions, all patriotic, do not conflict. It is when we transfer "American of the Jewish persuasion" into Eskimo, Laplander, Greek of the Jewish persuasion that we behold the nonsense of the observation. It is when we think of Colonel Goldsmid's "Shall I love my father less because I love my mother more?" that we understand that there can be a harmonious and natural affinity between our respect to the Stars and

Stripes and our determination to stand by our blue and white shield of David.

And facts are even more eloquent. A little band of Zionists fought for the Stars and Stripes in Cuba and Manila. Over two thousand Zionists were engaged on the British side in the struggle with South Africa. These Zionists wrote letters as to their Zionist feelings and paid their shekels, gathered for the Festivals and kept the movement alive among themselves during all the storm and stress of war. When the British Government had need of a thoroughly honest and absolutely patriotic organization which could be safely entrusted with the delicate and responsible task of granting passports to emigrants from Cape Town to the interior, it turned to the South African Federation of Zionists as the body that could be entrusted with such a charge. It was, let me add, a Zionist, Colonel Goldsmid, who was in command of a whole territory during the South African war, and a mere Zionist friend of mine who, though not of English birth, was dispatched by the British Government through all the lines of communication to take charge of the storage of the cold beef for the troops; and it was the Zionist president of the Natal organization who was mentioned in the dispatches by Lord Roberts for his good commissariat; and it was yet another Zionist friend of mine, as fully conscious a Zionist as any, whose traveling I stayed when he rushed from South Africa to England, with the intention of returning to New York in order to enlist in the army against Spain. What, then, becomes of this charge of malfeasance and of lack of patriotism?

If the Zionists are good enough patriots for the British Government, why shall the rabbi in New York doubt the honesty of our motives? Is Zionism cowardly? If so, thousands of others, yourselves and myself, all directly, or through our fathers, are one great band of cowards, for we have all sought freedom, and we have all left suffering and persecution behind us. What is there in Zion that should conjure cowardice? Its resettlement has the very same motive that brought all the voyagers of the Mayflower to the United States. Is there a new Shibboleth and Sibboleth that shall reject as cowards a race that makes claims to natural and normal existence? If we are cowards, it is just possible that "Zion would contain not the flower of Israel, but the dregs of the masses." But we must account among those dregs Mohilewer in Russia, and Alexander Marmorek, who received the Legion of Honor for fighting the Black Plague; a Haffkine, who is sacrificing his life to destroy the bubonic pest; a Nordau, who is at full tilt against the degeneracy of our times; a Lombroso, who has contributed so much to the study of the psychology of crime; a Gaster, who accepted exile rather than take from cowardly

Roumania exceptional privileges; a Herzl, who is one great source of modern idealism, and a Montefiore, who ranks among the aristocracy of Israel and of England.

Fling off the scum, pour out the wine and the dregs, and the lees are constituted of that same element that at the end of the Babylonian Exile would not accept of the greatness of Babylon; and as dregs—the poor, the Levite and the lowly went back to rebuild Zion. These ancient dregs did not falter before Sanballat, and it is the blood of those dregs that still runs through our veins. Better, I trow, to be of the dregs and lees of such than to be of those who, from the high pedestal of their vague ambitions, look down upon us and so describe us.

Yet there arise practical problems. There is again the worn-out chatter of an unfertile Palestine. The possibilities of that fertility is in the practical sense attested by the success of the Carmel Wine Companies; but I would refer you not to Zionists, not to Zionist investigations or Jewish authorities. There is a whole host, Hasselquist, Burkhardt, Robertson, Lindsay, Condor, who has been twenty-eight years in Palestine for the Exploration Fund, and has pledged his scientific knowledge as to the capabilities of the soil; Sir Charles Wilson, Lord Kitchener, all of whom have been engaged in the survey of the land, and have examined it geographically and topographically; and lastly, Lawrence Oliphant, who wished to aid in the restoration.

We know exactly what Palestine is, how fertile it can be made; we have back of us these authorities, our own investigations, the Biblical attributes of the "land flowing with milk and honey," and the historic fact that the Valley of the Euphrates, and what is now known as the Hauran belt, was once the granary of the Roman world. Palestine which once historically had two hundred cities, can be reopened, re-exploited and resettled, can sustain a population as great as in your view is desirable, an agricultural population of two millions, an industrial and agricultural population of unlimited numbers. The problem which taxes so many minds as to how many people Palestine can sustain is a waste of energy in face of the fact that the whole of the productive soil of England cannot produce sufficient food to maintain even a proportion of the population of London, and London is yet the capital of the world. What Jerusalem can become as the centre of a network of railways, uniting Europe, Asia and Africa, and to what greatness Jaffa can achieve as a port from which men shall one day travel to India, these are speculations for the future: but there are in these cities and in Beyrouth, in Sidon, in Palmyra, in Damascus, and in Hebron, there is in the area from Dan to Beersheba and in the hinterland of Syria as great a possibility of commercial success as in any land under God's

sun. It is just this that we desire to accomplish by charters and concessions; we will not dump down the people in Palestine; our movement is a protest against dumping, and the plans in preparation embrace a great movement. The practicability of these schemes are attested by the fact that one such was prepared in the sixties by Lord Shaftesbury, another by the non-Zionistic Sir Samuel Montagu in London in 1892. It is a question of money, opportunity, and organization.

There remains, then, a practical proposition: Is this achievable? We say emphatically, Yes! We ask you first to have a faith to wish to achieve, because we desire assistance to accomplish. But we have found in our political and diplomatic negotiations none of those terrible difficulties which make the diplomatic "open secrets" of pulpits. The cards cannot be laid open on the table, but the best evidence of the strength of this movement, from its practical point of view, is that we have felt strong enough to refuse overtures which the Sultan of Turkey made to us last August. Men who clutch at straws, who are "deluded enthusiasts," who doubt the basic probability of their work, would have clutched readily at any and all the straws that have come in our way recently, if only to prove that so much is achievable. We know what we can accomplish for Palestine, and the statesmen of Europe are fully aware of what a good termination it would be to the Eastern question if Palestine became a buffer state, with the holy places as an ex-territorium. Ministers and potentates have not been receiving our leaders either for mere amusement or in order to say them nay. Whilst all the statesmen of Europe have had to go hat in hand, and have still been refused, Dr. Herzl has been sent for and welcomed as a guest at the Yildiz Kiosk. Ishmael, who has never forgotten his half-brother Israel, recognizes that our success, in no way dispossessing him, will benefit him and be of advantage to the whole of mankind. Zionism thus has to say to you, in the words of George Eliot: "Revive your organic center; let the unity of Israel, which made the growth and form of its religion, be an outward reality, looking towards the land and a polity, so that all our dispersed people in all the ends of the earth may share the dignity of a national life which has a voice among the peoples of the East and of the West, which will plant the wisdom and skill of our race, so that it may be, as of old, a medium of transmission and of understanding. Let that come to pass, and the living warmth will spread to the weak extremities of Israel, and superstition will vanish, not in the lawlessness of a renegade, but in the illumination of great facts which widen feeling and make all knowledge alive as the new wellspring of beloved memories. And to the world in general Zionism has to say, still in the words of Eliot: "And the world will gain as Israel gains, for there will be a community in the

van of the East which carries the culture and sympathies of every great nation in its bosom. There will be a land set for the halting of enmities, a neutral ground for the East, as Belgium is for the West." Difficulties? I know there are difficulties, but we must let the spirit of sublime achievement move our people, and the work will begin.

I must make an end, though I could go on and on into details.

Wide as the poles asunder in culture, thought and training, stand we who stand for Israel and for Zion, knowing that heart-throb echoes heart-throb across the wide expanse. In thousands of homes there is a glow of hope because we make common cause, not against the world or anyone, but for our poor selves; thousands of backs are straighter for enrollment in our ranks; thousands of men and women make humble sacrifice "for the sake of all Israel." A Hester street shoemaker dreams of a new life; a Russian slum-dweller breathes in imagination the pure air of far-off fields; withered hands clasp a blue and white banner; and dry bones show the sinews of life whilst yet in the valleys of sanded desolation. A downtrodden race is lifted; its earlier romance re-enthalps it; a new hymnal rises; old and cracked lips chant ancient yearnings; tens and tens of thousands turn now as of old towards Zion, towards the East whence cometh the dawn!

In some future day the songs of Zion and the music of Jerusalem shall drown to Israel the memory of those who twiddled their thumbs whilst they adumbrated sophisms, who took upon themselves the responsibility of possible failure by refusing succor.

To-day, however, "for the sake of Zion I will not keep silent," for we fight for life, for healing, and for peace for the silent millions who else must go "down into the pit," disfigured by their daily sufferings. We fight and dream! Something of the dream has been accomplished, aye, something has come out of the travail of the poor man's misery.





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